

532 reindeer from straying away, and, as often happens, from getting lost. When
 788 a reindeer is slaughtered, the sacred fire-board is taken out and smeared with
 333 blood. Instead of a grass collar, the Reindeer Koryak put on it a tie made
 of the hair from the mane of a reindeer-buck.

Among the Maritime group, as well as among the Reindeer Koryak, the sacred fire-board is connected with the family welfare, and therefore it must not be carried into a strange house. But if two families join for the winter and live in one house, in order to obviate the necessity of procuring fuel for two houses, both take their own charms along into the common house, without risk to their effectiveness by so doing. The sacred fire-board is usually transmitted to the younger son, — or to the younger daughter, provided her husband remains in his father-in-law's house and the brothers establish new houses for themselves or raise separate herds. Often fire-boards are found that have outlasted two, three, or more generations.

778 THE DRUM. — The drum (ya'yai), which, as will be seen later on, plays
 534 an important rôle in ceremonials and shamanistic performances, at the same
 392 time ranks with the sacred fire-board as one of the guardians of the household. The drum is the master of the sleeping-apartment where it is kept. Every married couple has a drum of their own. A bride who has her own sleeping-tents also possesses her own drum. The drum is especially held in esteem by the Reindeer Koryak. Just as a herd cannot exist without a sacred fire-board, so a family cannot get along without a drum.

778 KAMAKS AND KALAKS. — A large class of guardian charms are called
 342 kamaks and kalaks,¹ — the same names as are applied to the hostile spirits described before.² It appears from this that these names do not always signify a thing harmful and evil, like the Yakut word *abasy*.³

In distinction from the evil spirits, this class of "charm-guardians" are often called *otkamak*, or *okkamak*; that is, "wooden kamak." By the Maritime Koryak, the most important place among the wooden kamaks is assigned to the one considered as guardian of the inhabited place. It cannot, however, be called "guardian of the village," in the sense of guardian of the community, since the social organization of the Koryak is so loose that the term "community" cannot very well be applied. The wooden kamak (*okkamak*) is considered rather as a guardian of the habitation. He is also called *Nimyo'lm*, which signifies "habitation," and he appears as a guardian or master of it.

The "guardian of the habitation" has the shape of a post, tapering at the top, and sometimes forked, the thinner branch representing the arm of the charm. It is located close to the village, usually on a hill overlooking

¹ The Koryak plural of kamak is *ka'maks*. Since kamak has been used with an English plural (Bogoras, *Anthropologist*, p. 631), the English plural has been used here.

² See p. 27.

³ *Abasy* (pl. *abasya's*) means not only "evil spirit," corresponding to the Koryak *kala* or to the Chukchee *kele*, but everything harmful in nature.

593 member of the family, and although she becomes affiliated to the hearth and
562 joins her husband in the cult of his family ancestors, nevertheless she continues
586 to dwell under the protection of her blood-relatives. It is told in one myth¹
that Eme'mqut drives off with his sister, who is being tortured by her husband
the Ringed-Seal, and his relatives; so, also nowadays, the young woman's
relatives still have the right to take her away from her husband if he treats
her cruelly. This proves that woman is not considered to be her husband's
property. If a woman flees of her own accord to her relatives, they will
not surrender her. Sometimes the husband comes to ask her to come back,
promising better treatment. On the other hand, the husband may cast out his
wife without any explanation, if he dislikes her for one reason or another; but
by this act he forever breaks up the union which marriage had established
between the two families. Henceforth he cannot court any relative of his
disowned wife. No girl relative of the latter will be given to him in marriage.

A Koryak widower on the Taigonos Peninsula, soon after his marriage,
sent his second wife back to her relatives. I asked him why he had turned
her out. He replied that she had not attended him when he had been ill,
and did not take care of his children by his first wife.

In this simple manner, Koryak divorce is performed. If there are chil-
dren at the separation of the spouses, the girls remain with the mother, the
boys with their father. Disputes concerning the children do occur, but they
are settled without anybody's intervention.

421 FORM OF PROPERTY. — Despite the fact that the proprietary right to
clothing, household effects, houses, and domestic animals has already become
strongly lodged in the tribal consciousness, we still meet remnants of communal
ideas in this sphere. These chiefly concern articles of hunting and fishing.
The principle of property in the produce of labor is not as yet completely
applied to the food procured by the hunter and fisherman. People in need
of food may lay claim, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the game
obtained by the successful hunter or fisherman. The social union among
separate families is based on this.

422 Among the Maritime Koryak, clothing and ornaments alone are considered
personal property. Wooden guardians and other amulets, household appurte-
428 nances, the house, nets, and skin boats, are family property. I have already
said that the boat, being a "guardian" of the family, cannot belong to two
different families. All these things pass on by inheritance from father to son,
and, in their absence, to brothers. Daughters or sisters who have not been
married into other families remain with their brothers or uncles. If one of
the brothers sets up a separate house, he receives a part of the movable
property, dishes and implements, and may continue to share with his brothers

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in the common use of the skin boat, if he remains in the same village. In case of the death of the father or of a childless brother, the brother who keeps house for himself receives a portion of the inheritance, even if his brother's widow passes on to, another, younger brother. I have already said that girls, on marrying into other families, take with them nothing but their clothes. The reindeer which the bride takes along are often delivered by her kinsfolk to her father-in-law, not immediately after the wedding, but according to the most convenient moment, considering what season is most favorable for the welfare of the herd. 422 428 ● [585]

The reindeer are the property of all the members of the family, but the movements of the herd are directed by the father. According to custom, each newly born child, irrespective of sex, receives one reindeer-heifer or more with a special mark on the ear.¹ This gives each member of the family a share in the herd later on. Under favorable conditions, a whole herd may be formed by the yearly increase of the herd of these heifers, before the child is ready to marry. Of course, the original herd belongs to the father; but considering that each child has its own reindeer, and that the wife and daughters-in-law retain as their property the reindeer which they brought in marriage, the whole herd of a large family belongs to a group of interrelated proprietors, under the direction of the eldest male. This elder may be the eldest brother or paternal uncle. On the father's death, the original herd is divided up among the sons, and, in the absence of children, among the brothers of the deceased. At marriage, daughters usually receive a share of the original herd from their father, in addition to their own reindeer. Some Koryak divide their deer equally among their sons and daughters, and give a proportionate part to the daughter at the time of her marriage;² but then the daughter is no longer entitled to inherit part of the herd on her father's death. If an unmarried girl is at home when her father dies, her brothers give her the reindeer at the time of her marriage. If a wife leaves her husband or is cast out by him, her relatives take back her reindeer. I have already said that divorces are very rare. After the birth of children, who are heirs to both their mother's and father's reindeer, the husband manages his wife's reindeer more independently. In general, the eldest member of the family manages the common herd of the family entirely without control. He designates which reindeer are to be killed for meat, clothing, sacrifices, and sale. He oversees the pasture and herdsman, and picks out the reindeer to be trained for harness. Of course, he often consults his wife or eldest son. 422 592 428 585 [586] 592 233

The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the 600

¹ See p. 492.

² In Tale 86 Vilen-best marries Maggie-Man. They eat up all the reindeer which Big-Raven had given them. Vilen-best comes to her father to ask for food; and Big-Raven says, "You ate your share of reindeer, I have nothing else to give you" (Part 1, p. 259).

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that are rich, as soon as the child is born, set apart for him a certain number of rein-deer, which however he cannot claim 'till he comes to maturity. The old women give names to the children, with the following ceremonies :—They set up two little rods, which they tie together with threads, to the middle of which they hang a stone wrapped in a piece of sheep-skin; then they ask of the stone in a muttering voice the name they shall give, and running over those of several of their relations, whatever name the stone shakes at they give to the child. The child-bed woman does not shew herself nor come out of the hut for ten days; if they are obliged to remove their habitations during that time, she is carried in a covered sledge. They give their children the breast 'till they are three years old and upwards; but they use neither cradle nor swaddling cloaths. 428
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They carefully attend those who are sick, and their *Shamans*, or conjurers, treat them in the manner above related; but they know nothing of the virtues of drugs or plants. 755

They burn their dead in the following manner :—Having first dressed them in their finest apparel, they draw them with those deer which they think were their favourites to the place where they are to be burned. Here they erect a great pile of wood, into which are thrown the arms of the deceased and some household furniture, such as their spear, quiver and arrows, knives, hatchets, kettles, &c. Then they set fire to the pile; and while it is burning, kill the deer that drew the corps, upon which they feast, and throw the fragments into the fire. 764

They celebrate the memory of the dead only once, and that a year after their death. All the relations then assemble; and taking two young rein-deers that have never been in the draught, and a great many deers' horns, which they have been collecting through the whole year for that purpose, they go to the place where the body was burned, if near, or if at a distance, to some other high place, where they kill the deer; 765
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